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IMMIGRATION AND THE ETHNOLINGUISTIC
CHARACTER OF CANADA AND QUEBEC

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Réjean Lachapelle

n° 15

Statistics Canada
Analytical Studies Branch

Research Paper Series

Canada





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This study was first presented during the seminar on Current Migration Patterns and the Integration of Migrants in French-speaking Countries, organized by le ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration and held at the Université du Québec à Montréal, August 25th to 28th, 1987. I would like to thank Luc St-Amour for his technical assistance and also Luc Albert, Brian Harrison, Jacques Henripin, Aleyda Lamotte and Daniel Latouche for their comments, support and suggestions.

The analysis and interpretation of the data in this paper is the responsibility of the author and does not necessarily represent the view or policy of Statistics Canada.


SUMMARY

At the end of the 19th century, the population of Canada was composed of two main ethnic groups, the English and the French. However, by the early 1960s, Canada's population had become a mosaic in which almost every European ethnic group was represented. In subsequent years, the sources of immigration were even further diversified. Since 1976, the majority of immigrants have come from the Third World. Already multi-ethnic, Canada could become a multi-racial society during the next century. However, ethnic diversity has not changed Canada's linguistic duality, since the immigrant languages rarely survive more than one or two generations after their introduction. Most of the descendants of immigrants speak English as their mother tongue.

During the century between 1850 and 1950, a dynamic equilibrium was maintained between native speakers of English and French. The high birth rate of Francophones offset the gains made by Anglophones through immigration and linguistic transfers. However, the birth rate differential in favour of Francophones gradually declined, disappearing by the mid-1960s. This trend has highlighted the destabilizing effects of immigration and linguistic transfers on the linguistic composition and demographic weight of Quebec in Canada.

In Canada as a whole, only a very small proportion of immigrants have French as their mother tongue (4%). The proportion of the foreign-born population in Quebec which speaks French as its mother tongue (22%) is much smaller than the corresponding proportion of those who have English as their mother tongue in the rest of Canada (46%). In addition, immigrants whose mother tongue is neither French nor English transmit their language more frequently in Quebec than in the other provinces. And when they teach their children one of the official languages as their mother tongue, they choose English more often than French in Quebec, and invariably choose English elsewhere in Canada.

Key words: ethnic groups, linguistic groups, Francophonie, linguistic transfers, Montreal, Toronto.



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Introduction

Following a decrease in 1985 to 84,000 due to the economic crisis at the onset of the decade, the number of immigrants rose in 1986 to 99,000. The government then announced a sharp increase in immigration levels for 1987 (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1987). Apprehension regarding the impact of the low birth rate on demographic growth and the aging population, as well as an optimism brought on by the improved economy and lower unemployment, gave rise to a new consensus of opinion favoring a rise in immigration. This shift in opinion affected the English-speaking provinces every bit as much as Quebec, the only province where the French-speaking population is in a majority.

In 1978 the federal government concluded an administrative agreement on immigration with the Province of Quebec. It enables Quebec to exercise considerable power in the recruitment and selection of foreign nationals wishing to take up residence on its territory (Lachapelle, 1987). The 1987 Constitutional Accord widens these powers and extends them to reception and integration services which will be inserted in the constitution when it is adopted by the federal Parliament and the provincial legislatures. Moreover, it guarantees Quebec the number of immigrants "proportionate to its share of the population of Canada, with the right to exceed that figure by five per cent for demographic reasons" (Devoir(un dossier du) 1987, 25).

This arrangement, whose mode of application has yet to be made explicit, will have a bearing on the decline of Quebec's demographic importance in Canada; for between 1966 and 1986 Quebec's proportion decreased from 29 to 26 per cent. This relative decline is a result of the disappearance of Quebec's higher fertility, a negative net inter-provincial migration balance and a weaker attraction of immigrants. Indeed, Quebec has received only 19 per cent of immigrants entering the country since 1946. The government of this province intends to increase the proportion over the next few years (Communautés culturelles et Immigration, 1987).

Heavy immigration invariably leads to increased diversification in the ethnic make-up, unless of course practically all the immigrants are of the same origin as the host population. It follows that if the predicted increase in immigration persists over a fairly long period, it will give rise in Quebec to a significant decrease in the French section of the population and in the rest of the country to a lower proportion of the population of British stock. In English-speaking Canada, past waves of immigration have already lowered the share of persons of British origin, but these changes did not cut into the dominant position of the English language. In Quebec, on the other hand, the fate of the French language was always associated with a population of French origin, for few of the newcomers were attracted by French. In the future, will immigrants be sufficiently attracted by this language so that reductions in the population of French stock will not give rise to parallel declines in the French-speaking population?

In the first section, we will describe in broad outline the impact of immigration on a century of changes in the ethnic make-up of the Canadian population. The second section will deal with the impact of immigration on the linguistic composition of Quebec and the rest of the country.

Colonization and Immigration

At first a British colony, then a Dominion and later a member of the Commonwealth, Canada for a long time gave preference to immigrants from the British Isles. Moreover even until quite recently, Canadians were British subjects. The first law concerning Canadian sovereignty did not come into effect until 1947. It allowed "non-Canadian British subjects and aliens who were permanently residing in Canada or those who might subsequently immigrate to Canada to apply for Canadian citizenships" (Statistics Canada, 1974, 85).

Composed solely of Amerindians for thousands of years, the population occupying the territory of Canada was transformed during five major periods

of population growth. The first covers the long period which extends as far back as the formation of Canada and continues till the end of the nineteenth century. This was characterized by a weak attraction to Canada compared to the United States. The settlers who established themselves in the country at that time were primarily of French stock (before 1760), secondarily of British origin and only rarely of other origins. The second period extends from the end of the nineteenth century to the First World War. Owing to the settlement of the Prairies, Canada benefitted from the greatest immigration wave in its history. The movement would not recommence till the beginning of the 1920s and would be interrupted once again by an economic crisis and World War Two. The fourth period began when hostilities ceased and ended in 1962 when the government eliminated most of the discriminatory provisions employed in the selection of immigration candidates and which were based on race and origin (Manpower and Immigration, 1974, 29; Whitaker, 1987). After 1962, and above all after 1967, immigrants were increasingly of Third World origin.

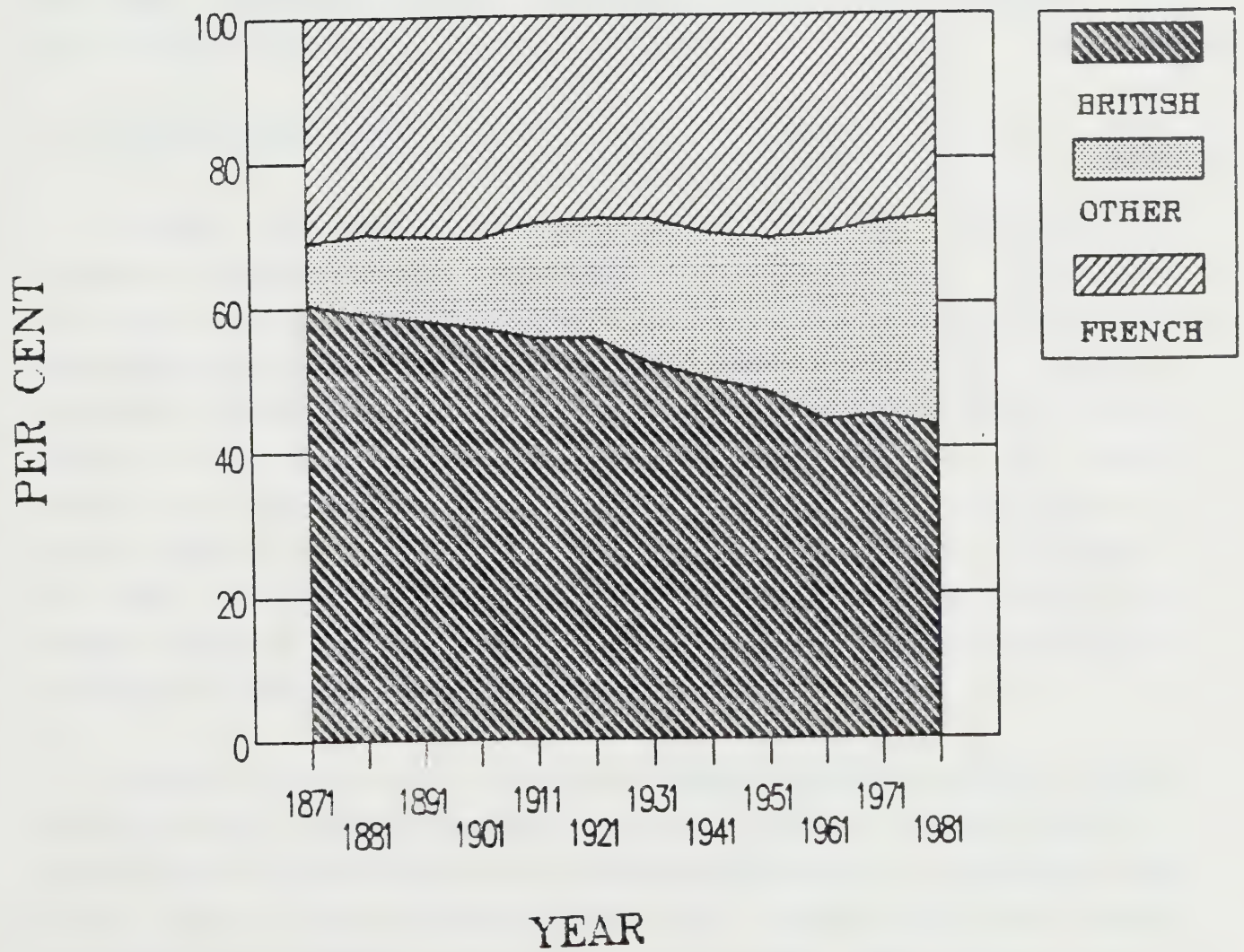
The Colonial Period

The British who settled in Canada prior to 1867 -- and even later -- were not, properly speaking, international migrants. In coming to Canada, they were effecting more than an ordinary internal migration, yet they did not change allegiances. And the same goes for the ancestors of most French Canadians; the former migrated to Canada during the French regime.

In 1871 Canada was populated above all by settlers and descendants of settlers. According to census figures, of some 3.5 million inhabitants in the four original provinces (Statistics Canada, 1983, A163), 61 per cent were of British origin, 31 per cent of French origin and 8 per cent of other origins (Figure 1). Nearly 70 per cent of persons in this latter category were of German origin and 10 per cent were of Dutch stock. Blacks accounted for 7 per cent (21,000) while Amerindians and Inuit made up another 8 per cent (23,000), though the figure associated with the latter group is without doubt an underestimate.

FIGURE 1

ETHNIC ORIGIN CANADA



Source: Census of Canada.

Between 1871 and 1901, the proportion of the population born outside of Canada dropped from 17 per cent to 13 per cent. A fair number of immigrants were only passing through Canada in order to reach the United States. Native Canadians too migrated south in large numbers. It has been estimated that the migration balance was negative in every decade between 1861 and 1901 (Urquhart and Buckley, 1965, 22).

In 1871, 84 per cent of persons born outside of Canada came from the British Isles and 11 per cent from the United States. The majority of other immigrants were of German birth. Before Prairie settlement began, and as reflected in the 1891 census, the situation had not significantly changed: 76 per cent of immigrants were of British birth, 13 per cent were born in the United States and 4 per cent were of German birth. Scarcely more than five thousand persons declared France as their birthplace, less than one per cent of the immigrant population.

Settlement of the Prairies

Between 1896 and 1914 more than three million immigrants were attracted to Canada (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1970, 22). The end of the push toward the West in America, progress in the development of arid land, the increase in the international demand for wheat and a dynamic immigration policy, all contributed to this movement. In 1913 alone, four hundred thousand immigrants arrived in the country. Between 1901 and 1911 the proportion of the population born outside of Canada rose from thirteen percent to twenty-two per cent and stabilized at this level until 1931. By comparison, among whites in the United States, between 1860 and 1920 the proportion of persons born abroad varied between twelve and fifteen per cent (Taeuber, 1972, 26).

Between 1901 and 1921, persons of origins other than British, French, Amerindian and Inuit increased by eight hundred thousand and as a proportion of the population this group rose from ten to fifteen per cent. Several ethnic groups sustained very rapid growth during this period: Scandinavians increased from 31,000 to 167,000; Jews, from 16,000 to 126,000; Dutch, from 34,000 to 118,000; Austrians, from 11,000 to 108,000; Ukrainians, from 6,000 to 107,000; Russians, from 20,000 to 100,000;

Italians, from 11,000 to 67,000; Poles, from 6,000 to 53,000 and Asians, from 24,000 to 66,000. This occurred in spite of resistance from public opinion (particularly in British Columbia) and from government to Asian immigration. The decrease between 1911 and 1921 in the population of German origin, from 404,000 to 294,000 is without doubt explained by the concealment of this group after World War One (Ryder, 1955).

Population growth was particularly strong in the Prairie provinces and reached two million in 1921 (from 420,000 in 1901). Population in the Prairies rose from 8 per cent to twenty-two per cent of the Canadian population as a whole. In 1931 the proportion of persons whose origin was other than British and French was 41 per cent in Manitoba, 47 per cent in Saskatchewan and 42 per cent in Alberta.

Between the Wars

The country witnessed a new wave of immigration between 1923 and 1930. However, it was smaller in scale than the one that preceded it. The United States established quotas which had the effect of reducing the number of immigrants, above all those from Eastern and Southern Europe. Canada's immigration policy was also restrictive but less so than that of its neighbour to the south. Between 1921 and 1941, the proportion of persons of origins other than British, French, Amerindian and Inuit advanced from fifteen to nineteen per cent.

During this period, immigrants headed towards the Prairies less, since the wheat fields were already taken. They tended rather to settle in the large urban centres, particularly Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver (Kalbach, 1970, 87-91), as well as in mining and paper industry areas.

In 1931, those born in the British Isles accounted for 50 per cent of the population born abroad; 15% were American born while 31% were born in the remainder of Europe. Very few were from Southern Europe.

Spanish and Portuguese immigration was negligible, Greeks were few in number and Italian immigration was much weaker than before the war since the Fascist government discouraged emigration, except to North Africa. The restrictions imposed by the Canadian government also contributed to this outcome.

At the end of the nineteenth century, those of British and French origin together composed close to 90 per cent of the population. At that time only Germans formed an important minority. The immigrant waves of 1903-1914 and 1923-1930 transformed the ethnic substratum of the population. "Founding Peoples" represented 80 per cent of the population in 1941. The British saw their relative importance diminish as their proportion dropped from 60 per cent to 50 per cent of the population; owing to their high fertility, those of French origin maintained their level of 30 per cent. Among the total 1941 population, several other ethnic groups were each comprised of more than 100 thousand persons. Included were the German, Ukrainian, Scandinavian, Dutch, Jewish and Italian ethnic groups (Statistics Canada, 1983, A137-A151). Canada was on its way to becoming a multi-ethnic nation.

The Post-War Period to 1962

In the mid-1940s, all professional observers maintained that the long-term decline in fertility would continue. At that time it was predicted that growth would be much slower than in the past and that a rapidly aging population would result. Based on the hypotheses of declining fertility and on zero net migration, predictions suggested, moreover, that the population would rise from 12.1 million in 1945 to 14.6 million in 1971 (in fact it reached 21.6 million) and that by the end of the century it would not have surpassed the 15 million mark (Charles, Keyfitz and Roseborough, 1946). This hypothesis is linked to one which has been put forward by demographers for fifteen years (Joint Special Committee on Immigration Policy, 1975, 4-6; Romaniuc, 1984, 93-94).

The fear of slow growth and of an aging population would be at the heart of then Prime Minister Mackenzie King's statement, May 1st 1947, on immigration policy:

"The policy of the government is to foster the population growth of Canada by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation and vigorous administration, to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy" (Manpower and Immigration, 1974, 201).

The economic aspects of immigration and the notion of absorptive capacity would later provide the focus of an in-depth study (Timlin, 1951). In an appendix to this study, H. Lukin Robinson, a demographer, would demonstrate that, contrary to common belief, immigration has little long-term impact on age structure. The latter depends essentially on fertility levels.

Ethnic origin, too, is an aspect of immigration. The terms of the debate between English-Canadians and French-Canadians were summed up well by Alexander Brady:

"Some elements in French Canada have been frankly hostile to any aggressive encouragement of immigration because they fear that, unless the newcomers could be obtained in France and in Belgium, they would tilt the balance of numbers still more in favour of the English-speaking people. Without an inflow from abroad, the balance was likely to be shifted in the other direction" (Preface to Timlin, 1951, xi).

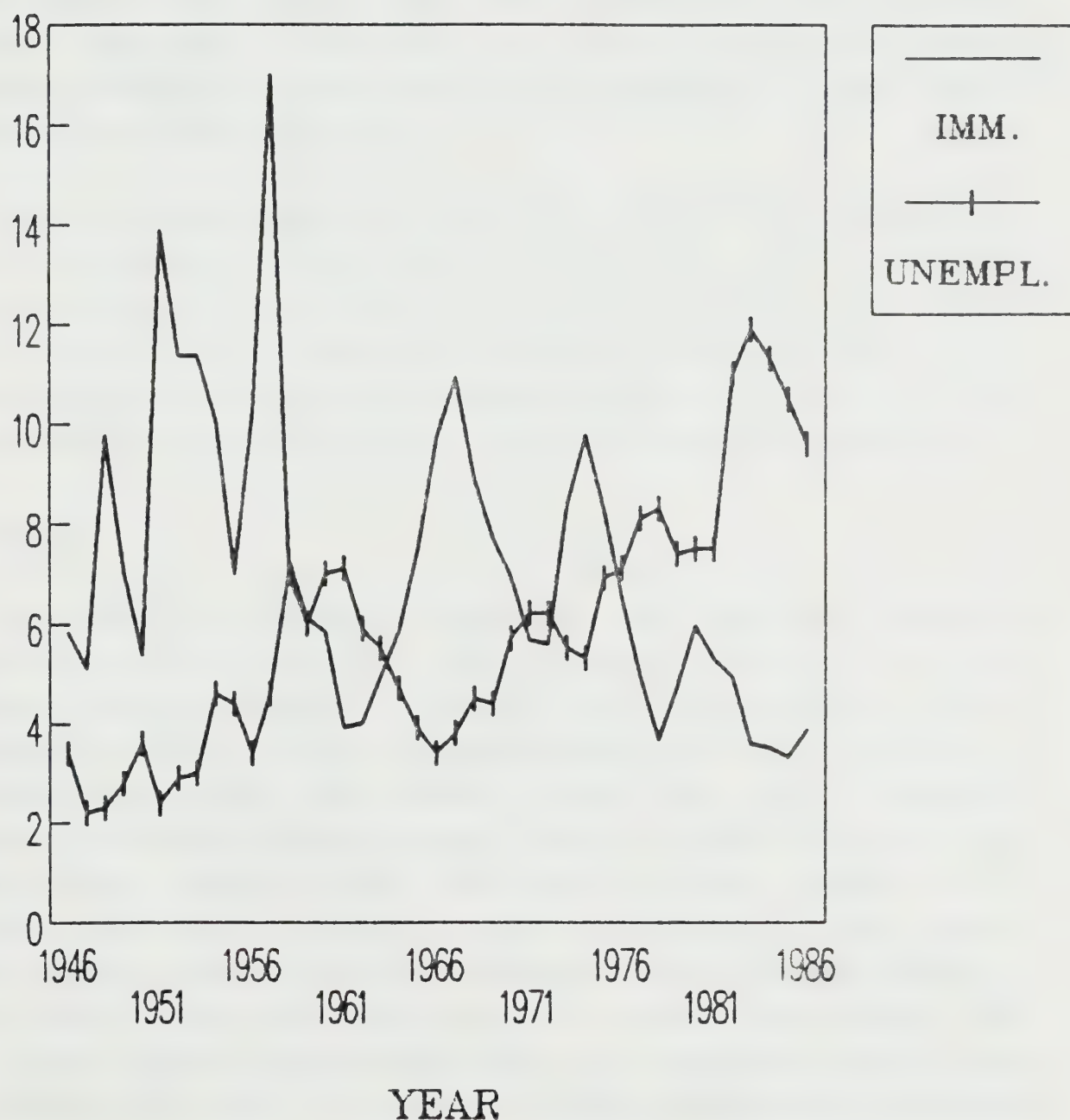
It was predicted in that period that, in the absence of immigration, the Quebec population could surpass that of Ontario by 1971. Due to the high fertility of French-Canadians, Quebec's demographic importance would increase as its proportion grew from 29 per cent in 1941 to 32 per cent in 1971 (Charles, Keyfitz and Roseborough, 1946; Lachapelle, 1977). In fact that year Quebec accounted for 28 per cent of the total population of the country.

From 1946 to 1962, 2.2 million immigrants entered Canada, an average of 127,000 per year. The number of immigrants was in excess of 100,000 in 1948, as well as from 1951 to 1960. The variations from year to year were sometimes very wide: for example, from 1950 to 1951 immigration increased from 74 thousand to 194 thousand, yet between 1957 and 1958 it fell from 282 thousand to 125,000. These fluctuations approximately paralleled movements in the unemployment rate (Figure 2). As in previous periods, immigration policy was "characterized by the importance accorded to economic concerns and by the preservation of a system of selection based on the national origin of immigrants" (Manpower and Immigration, 1974, 30).

Between 1941 and 1961 the structure of the population born outside of Canada experienced a rapid transformation. The proportion of persons born in the British Isles fell from 49 to 35 per cent and the share of those born in the United States fell from 15 to 10 per cent. But the extent of the change is underestimated by these figures since these were influenced by migratory movements prior to World War Two. To clarify the situation, using the 1961 Census one may compare the composition by birthplace of the immigrant population settled before 1946 with that of the immigrant population which arrived after the war (Kalbach, 1970, 153-154). The share from the British Isles fell from 46 to 25 per cent and that from the United States from 16 to 5 per cent, while the proportion of immigrants from

FIGURE 2

IMMIGRATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT CANADA



Note: Immigration is indicated in thousands of inhabitants, unemployment as a percentage.

Sources: Employment and Immigration Canada and Statistics Canada.

Central and Eastern Europe dropped from 23 to 16 percent; the share from Northern and Western Europe rose from 7 to 25 per cent and that from Southern Europe from 5 to 21 per cent. In the post-war period, Italy moved into second position (15 per cent) after the United Kingdom (25 per cent), in the ranking of immigrants according to country of birth. They were followed in order by Germany (11 per cent), the Netherlands (8 per cent), Poland (5 per cent) and the USSR (5 per cent). Hungary accounted for 3 per cent and was the only East European country whose proportion of immigrants grew compared to its pre-war level. While advancing, French immigration remained very weak: it accounted for 1.8 per cent of the immigrant population settled in Canada after 1945, compared to 0.6 per cent of immigrants who came prior to 1946.

There followed between 1941 and 1961 a drop in the population of British origin, from 50 per cent to 44 per cent. Due to their high fertility, those of French origin still managed to maintain their share of 30 per cent. As for those whose origin was neither British, French, Amerindian nor Inuit, their share increased from 19 to 25 per cent. Canada became a multi-ethnic nation in which no ethnic group held a majority.

After 1962

Opposition to restricted immigration for non-whites intensified towards the end of the 1950s. The government also had to deal with pressures from Commonwealth countries which had recently achieved independence. Prior to 1962, a marked preference was given, in effect, to immigrants originating from Great Britain, the "old" Commonwealth countries, the United States and also, though to a lesser degree, to France (Jones, 1986; Whitaker, 1987). An Order in Council adopted in 1957 stipulated that landed immigrants could, as Canadian citizens, sponsor their spouses, children who were un-married minors and aged parents if these relatives were from Asia and Africa (Richmond and Kalbach, 1980, 65). A more important leap was taken when a new regulation came into force on February 1st 1962. It allowed that the selection of unsponsored applicants would no longer take into consideration the country of origin and would henceforth be based on education, professional training and abilities (Richmond and Kalbach, 1980, 66-67). Moreover, from this point

on they could all sponsor close relatives. The complete range of sponsorship possibilities was preserved in its previous form however only for immigrants from European, American and a few other countries (Manpower and Immigration, 1974, 32). This distinction disappeared in 1967 when sponsorship was restricted for all.

Slightly more than 3.3 million persons immigrated between 1963 and 1986, an average of 138 thousand per year. While annual variations were significant over the entire period, they had a more steady character during the most recent years (Figure 2). Immigration always evolved in inverse proportion to variations in the unemployment rate, entry being slowed down in periods of economic difficulty. As of the mid-1950s and in particular from 1975 on, one could also observe, through the fluctuations, a trend toward a lower immigration rate.

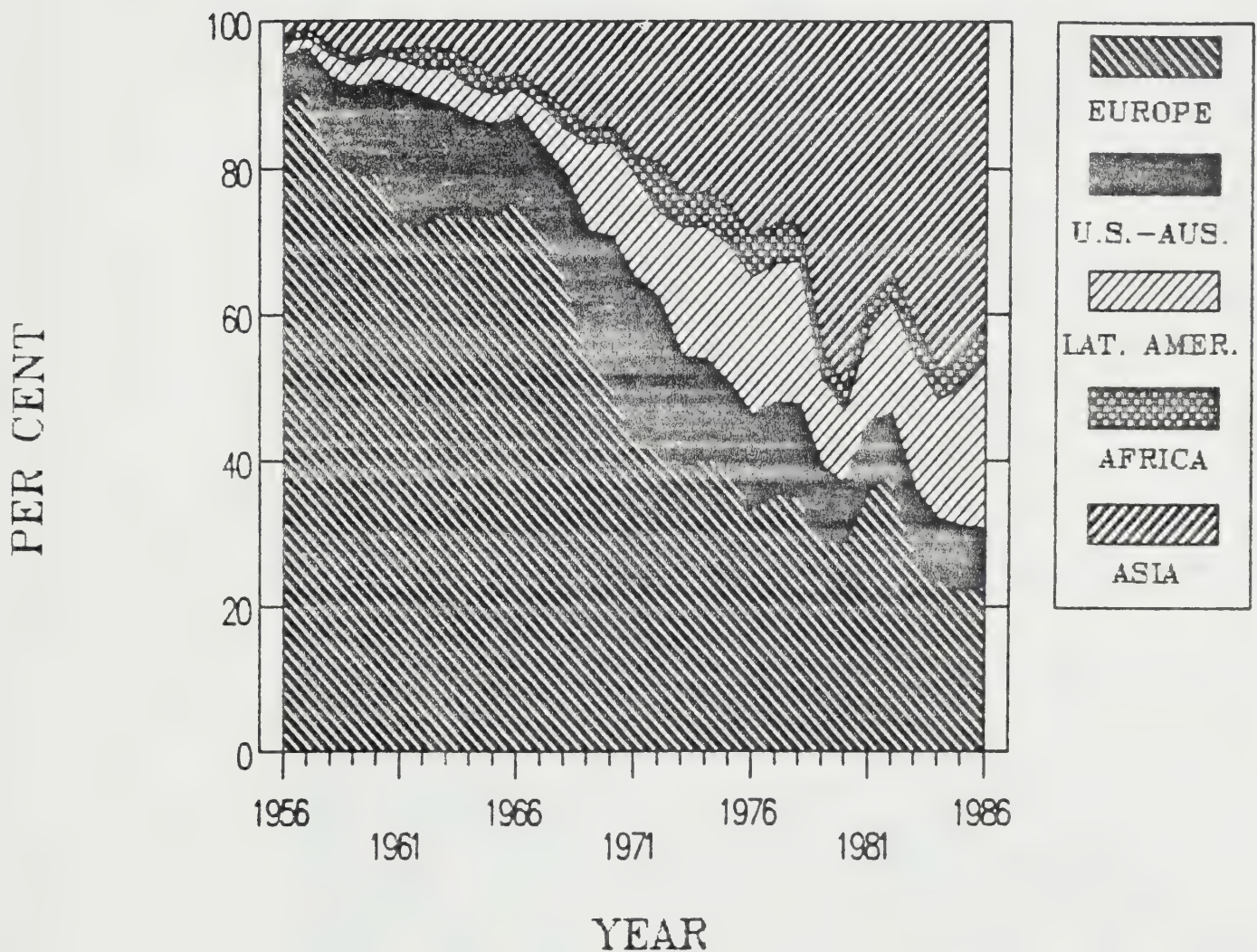
In 1956 and 1957, more than 95 per cent of immigrants came from traditional sources of immigration (Europe, the United States, Australia and New Zealand). Subsequently, the proportion represented by new sources of immigrants gained ground, slowly at first until 1966, the year it accounted for 13 per cent of the movement, then more rapidly until 1976 (Figure 3). In that year it surpassed traditional sources in importance. In 1986, traditional sources made up only 31 per cent of the movement, 23 per cent of which originated in Europe and 7 per cent in the United States.

The new immigration was above all from Asiatic countries. Between 1973 and 1978, 10 per cent of these "new immigrants" came from Africa, 50 per cent from Asia and about 40 per cent from Latin America. The share of the latter region decreased after 1978 and fluctuated between 15 and 35 per cent, depending on the year, whereas that from Asia stood between 60 and 80 per cent, while the African share varied between five and seven per cent. This rise in Asian immigration is related to the arrival, starting in 1979, of numerous Indo-Chinese refugees.

Between 1961 and 1981, contrary to all expectation, there was little variation in the proportion of the population of British origin (Table 1). That is even more surprising since the Canadian censuses did not deal at

FIGURE 3

LAST RESIDENCE OF IMMIGRANTS CANADA



Source: Employment and Immigration.

Table 1

Number of Inhabitants and Composition of the Population According to Ethnic Origin (EO), Mother Tongue (MT) and Language Spoken Most Frequently in the Home (HL), Canada, 1941-1986.

<u>Category (in percent)</u>					
Year	Characteristic	British or English	French	Other	Number of Inhabitants (in thousands)
1941 (1)	EO	49.7	30.3	20.1	11,507
	MT	56.4	29.2	14.5	
1951	EO	47.9	30.8	21.3	14,009
	MT	59.1	29.0	11.8	
1961	EO	43.8	30.4	25.8	18,238
	MT	58.5	28.1	13.5	
1971	EO	44.6	28.7	26.7	21,568
	MT	60.2	26.9	13.0	
	HL	67.0	25.7	7.3	
1981	EO (2)	43.0	28.0	29.0	24,343
	MT	61.3	25.7	13.0	
	HL	68.2	24.6	7.2	
1986 (3)	MT	62.1	25.1	12.8	25,309

(1) Newfoundland not included.

(2) Multiple responses to the question on ethnic origin are uniformly distributed among the stated origins.

(3) The data does not include the partially enumerated population living on reserves and Indian settlements and numbering about 45,000 persons. In addition, multiple responses to the question on mother tongue are distributed among the constituent languages so as to make the distributions approximately comparable to those of the 1981 Census (Census of Canada, (1986), 1987).

Source: Censuses of Canada, 1941, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1986.

all with the individual's current ethnic membership (which can change during one's lifetime) but asked respondents (except, of course, for those born abroad) to indicate the ethnic or cultural group to which their paternal ancestors belonged upon arrival in America. With Britons accounting for a lower and lower proportion of immigrants, an appreciable decrease in their proportion of the population should have been observed. Without doubt, the inconsistency arises because an increasing number of individuals have forgotten their ancestral origin, whether or not this was reinforced by a change in their patronymic. Well known but not quantified, the phenomenon of extensive assimilation is not recent; however, a collection method using self-enumeration, used for the first time in 1971, enabled it to come to the fore more clearly (Castonguay, 1976; Henripin, 1974; Lachapelle, 1981). In addition, since 1981, ethnic origin no longer refers to paternal lineage alone and multiple responses appear in the statistics, which makes comparisons with previous censuses tricky.

If Canada is no longer a bi-ethnic country, its linguistic duality persists. Indeed, in 1981, 87 per cent of the population spoke either English or French as their mother tongue (first language learned at childhood and still understood) while at home, only seven per cent spoke most frequently in a language other than English or French (Table 1). Nevertheless, the two official language groups are not in a state of equilibrium. Between 1941 and 1986, the maternally English component increased from 56 per cent to 62 per cent, whereas the share held by the maternally French component has experienced, conversely, a steady decline since 1951. Immigration is but one factor explaining this development (Lachapelle and Henripin, 1982).

Region and Language

In ethnic terms, Quebec is more homogeneous than the rest of the country (Table 2). Indeed, in 1981, 81 per cent of the Quebec population declared that they were of French origin, 8 per cent of British origin and 11 per cent of a third origin. In other provinces those of a third origin accounted for 35 per cent, while 56 per cent were of British origin and

Table 2

Number of Inhabitants and Composition of the Population According to Ethnic Origin (EO), Mother Tongue (MT) and Language Spoken Most Frequently in the Home (HL), Quebec and the Rest of Canada, 1961, 1981 and 1986.

Year	Characteristic	<u>Category (in percent)</u>			Number of Inhabitants (in thousands)
		British or English	French	Other	
			<u>Quebec</u>		
1961	EO	10.8	80.6	8.6	
	MT	13.3	81.2	5.6	5,259
1981	EO (1)	8.3	80.9	10.8	
	MT	11.0	82.4	6.6	6,438
	HL	12.7	82.5	4.8	
1986	MT (2)	10.4	82.8	6.8	6,532
			<u>Rest of Canada</u>		
1961	EO	57.2	10.0	32.7	
	MT	76.8	6.6	16.7	12,979
1981	EO (1)	55.5	9.0	35.5	
	MT	79.4	5.3	15.4	17,905
	HL	88.2	3.8	8.1	
1986	MT (2)	80.0	5.0	14.9	18,776

(1) Multiple responses to the question on ethnic origin are distributed uniformly among the stated origins.

(2) See note (3), Table 1.

Source: Censuses of Canada, 1961, 1981 and 1986

9 per cent of French origin. But linguistically the situation is different, due to the weak attraction of French in Quebec. In that province, this language is generally spoken in the home by 83 per cent of the population, whereas in the other provinces, English is used by 88 per cent of the population.

In this respect, English Canada differs little from Australia and the United States. Indeed, according to the 1980 census (Bureau of the Census, 1982, 14), 89 per cent of the American population five years and over spoke English only in the home. In the 1981 census of Australia (OECD, 1987, 159), 88 per cent of the population five years and over indicated that they were able to speak English only. Taking into account the more restrictive variables used in Australia and the United States, it seems that the language of the majority is spoken slightly less in English Canada than in the other two countries. This slight difference is perhaps explained by the higher percentage of foreign population, by the linguistic make-up of immigrants, or by the official statute of French in the country as a whole and in certain provinces.

The concentration of French-speaking people in Quebec and of English-speaking people in the other provinces influences the territorial distribution and the linguistic make-up of immigrants (Lachapelle and Henripin, 1982, 231-235). It is expected that immigrants who speak French would be more inclined to settle in Quebec and that those who speak English would mostly settle in the other provinces. But since the linguistic composition of the immigrants' country of departure is extremely different from that of the host country, it would be surprising if the language of the majority in the host population were not under-represented among immigrants, except perhaps during periods when immigration is weak. It follows that, in the short term, high immigration pulls down the proportion of those in the majority group. Its long-term impact depends on the force of the linguistic transfers.

These two phenomena, immigrant mother tongue and language shift, sometimes explain only a small part of the evolution in the linguistic composition of the population. Moreover, in Quebec, differences in fertility and internal migrations have played a preponderant role (Lachapelle and Henripin, 1982). Nevertheless, in the following section we will keep to factors associated with international immigration.

Immigration and Language

In 1981, persons born abroad represented 19 per cent of the population in English Canada (Table 3), whereas in 1980 they accounted for 6 per cent of the population of the United States (Bureau of the Census, 1982, 14). Moreover, the proportion observed in the American case is even lower than that noted in the Quebec population (8 per cent).

To the east of Montreal, in the Atlantic provinces as well as in other regions of Quebec, immigrants account for less than 5 per cent of the population. In Montreal, as in Canada as a whole, this proportion reaches 16 per cent. In Toronto, the nation's metropolis, 38 per cent of the population was born abroad.

Quebec's greater linguistic diversity can not be attributed to immigration, which is weaker than in English Canada. This is the case even though the proportion of immigrants whose mother tongue is English is higher outside of Quebec (46 per cent) than the proportion whose mother tongue is French within this province (22 per cent). Nevertheless, Quebec manages to attract and keep close to 80 per cent of immigrants whose mother tongue is French. But the latter group is not numerous, representing only 4 per cent of the immigrant population for the entire country.

Table 3

Percentage of the Population Born Abroad and Composition of the
Immigrant Population According to Mother Tongue, Canada and
Regions, 1981.

(in per cent)

Region	<u>Mother Tongue</u>			Immigrant Population
	English	French	Other	
Canada	43	4	53	16
Quebec	21	22	57	8
Montreal CMA	22	18	60	16
Rest of Quebec	21	44	35	2
Rest of Canada	46	1	53	19
Atlantic	72	5	23	4
Ontario	44	1	55	24
Toronto CMA	42	1	57	38
Rest of Ontario	47	1	52	16
West and North	47	1	52	18

Note: The census metropolitan area (CMA) includes the
city eponym and its suburbs.

Source: Census of Canada, 1981.

Canada has two distinct networks of internal migration, the first centred on regions with English-speaking majorities, the second only slightly overlapping regions with a French-speaking majority. From wherever across Canada they might come, that part of Canada's internal migrants whose mother tongue is French most frequently head for regions with a French-speaking majority, while those in the English group or the non-official language group end up mainly in regions with English-speaking majorities. The structure of this migration pattern has been explained by cost differentials linked on one hand to the search for information regarding migration opportunities and on the other hand to cultural and linguistic adaptation (Lachapelle and Henripin, 1982, 232). If these factors also influence international immigration, then one has to expect that immigrants from French-speaking countries will settle in Quebec in a higher proportion.

Indeed Quebec attracts and keeps more than half of the immigrants born in French-speaking countries and only 11 per cent of those born in other countries (Table 4). Its degree of attraction for persons born in Haiti is reaching a peak (96 per cent). The following countries or groups of countries come next in order: the Maghreb (79 per cent), France (66 per cent), Egypt (63 per cent), other French-speaking areas of America (61 per cent), the French-speaking countries of Africa (57 per cent), Lebanon and Syria (36 per cent), the other French-speaking countries of Europe (35 per cent) and the countries of the Indo-Chinese peninsula (26 per cent). This latter figure is also the measure of the population of Quebec expressed as a percentage of the country's population. Although in a number of these countries French is the mother tongue of only a tiny fraction of the population, knowledge of French is sufficiently widespread to influence the place of establishment of immigrants to Canada.

Nonetheless, persons born in French-speaking countries account for only a quarter of Quebec's immigrant population. And it does not appear that the French Language Charter of 1977 and the Cullen-Couture Agreement of 1978 (concerning immigration) are going to bring about increased

Table 4

Quebec's Share in the Immigrant Population Residing in Canada
and Distribution of the Immigrant Population Living in Quebec,
by Country of Birth, 1981
(in per cent)

Country of Birth	<u>Population born outside Canada</u>	
	Share of Quebec in Canada	Living in Quebec
Total	13.6	100.0
Europe	12.6	61.9
France	66.1	7.1
Other French- speaking countries (1)	34.5	2.8
All other countries	11.0	52.0
America	17.0	19.2
Haiti	96.2	4.9
Other French- speaking territories (2)	60.8	0.1
All other countries	13.1	14.2
Northern Africa	69.3	5.1
The Maghreb (3)	79.0	2.5
Egypt	62.7	2.6
Lybia	22.4	-
Other countries in Africa	9.6	1.2
French-speaking countries (4)	57.3	0.6
Other countries	4.7	0.5
Asia	11.9	12.2
Lebanon and Syria	36.4	1.9
Indo-China	26.4	3.3
Other countries	8.3	7.1
Other countries	5.7	0.4
French-speaking countries (5)	51.4	25.8
Other countries	10.8	74.2

(1) Belgium, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Monaco and Andorra.

(2) Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guyana and St. Pierre and Miquelon.

(3) Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia

(4) The list of countries is the same as that in the report of the Haut Conseil de la francophonie (1986, 19-20).

(5) Including Egypt and Indo-China.

Source: Census of Canada, 1981.

immigration from these countries. Judging from border statistics compiled according to the immigrants' last permanent residence, 36 per cent of those who intended to settle in Quebec came from French-speaking countries between 1973 and 1978, in comparison with 49 per cent between 1979 and 1984. But this rise may be attributed entirely to the increase in immigration from Indo-China, which does not really affect Quebec much more than the rest of the country. To be sure, if one takes into account all French-speaking countries except for those of Indo-China, their relative importance in the flow of immigration bound for Quebec decreases from 33 per cent in the 1973-1978 period to 31 per cent in the 1979-1984 period. The increase in Haiti's relative share was not able to offset the decrease in immigration from France, Lebanon and Syria.

The trends appears clearer when we consider the breakdown of immigrants according to knowledge of English and French upon arrival (Table 5). We shall exclude from this breakdown those who could speak neither English nor French, a third of the arrivals between 1968 and 1985. Of the remaining immigrants, the proportion of those who could speak French rose from 53% to 65% during the period between 1973-1978 and 1979-1984. At the same time, the proportion of those who knew English declined from 63% to 53%. However, the trend has not been uniform over the past fifteen years. Again, of immigrants who could speak at least one of the official languages upon arrival, the proportion of those who knew French fell from 54% in 1968 (63% for English) to 42% in 1971 and 1972 (78-79% for English), then rose to 58-59% between 1976 and 1978 (58-59% for English), and increased further to 68-69% between 1981 and 1983 (49% for English), falling to 60% in 1984 and 1985 (60-61% for English). The situation observed during these last two years was scarcely different from that which prevailed between 1976 and 1978.

Table 5

Breakdown of immigrants admitted to Quebec according to
knowledge of French and English upon arrival, 1968 to 1985
(in per cent)

Year	Immigrants with knowledge of at least one official language			Immigrant that don't speak French nor English
	French Only	English & French	English Only	
1968	37.1	16.8	46.0	35.1
1969	26.5	16.9	56.6	31.5
1970	25.5	18.5	56.0	30.3
1971	21.8	20.5	57.8	32.3
1972	21.1	21.1	57.8	30.8
1973	27.8	15.2	57.0	26.8
1974	37.0	13.0	50.1	24.9
1975	38.6	14.5	46.9	29.9
1976	40.6	17.4	42.0	28.0
1977	41.9	16.8	41.3	26.5
1978	42.1	16.1	41.9	32.2
1979	42.1	19.2	38.7	45.8
1980	44.2	17.6	38.3	53.0
1981	51.2	16.6	32.2	39.9
1982	50.8	18.4	30.8	37.4
1983	50.6	16.8	32.6	35.4
1984	39.8	20.1	40.1	39.5
1985	38.7	21.4	39.8	36.9

Source: Gouvernement of Quebec, L'immigration au Québec,
Bulletin statistique annuel.

Linguistic Mobility

About 55 per cent of the immigrant population has a mother tongue other than English or French (Table 3). Except in regions with low immigration, where this proportion drops to less than 25 per cent, one notes only minor variations from one region or province to another. The long term impact of these immigrants on linguistic composition depends, on one hand, on the intensity with which they transmit their mother tongue to their children, and, on the other hand, on the choice that they make when carrying out their linguistic transfer.

Of children less than fifteen years old whose mothers have a language other than English, French or a native language as their mother tongue, a little over half have one of the two official languages as their mother tongue (Table 6). And the figure reaches two-thirds when one considers, instead, the language usually spoken at home.

Whatever the criteria used, linguistic mobility is weaker in Quebec than in the rest of Canada, and weaker in Montreal than in Toronto (see also Anctil [1984]). Thus, in Montreal, 45 per cent of children whose mothers' mother tongue is not an official language, speak English or French more often at home, compared to 61 per cent in Toronto. The disparity, however, varies from one linguistics group to another (Table 7). Generally it is negligible for languages whose linguistic mobility is high: German, Ukrainian and Chinese. The gap is more significant for Greek (27 per cent in Montreal and 55 per cent in Toronto) and for Italian (41 per cent in Montreal and 63 per cent in Toronto). Nevertheless, it is quite weak for Spanish (40 per cent in Montreal and 49 per cent in Toronto) and above all for Portuguese (37 per cent in Montreal and 42 per cent in Toronto). In Montreal, Greek demonstrates the greatest linguistic persistence, though in Toronto it ranks third after Portuguese and Spanish.

These disparities are difficult to explain, at least at first sight, by differences in the length of their stay, since, for each group, the

Table 6

Children under 15 living in an husband and wife family in which the mother tongue of the mother is neither English, French nor a native language. Proportion of children whose mother tongue or language spoken at home is different than the mother tongue of the mother, Canada and regions, 1981

(in per cent).

Children whose mother tongue is different than the mother tongue of the mother		
Region	Mother Tongue	Language Spoken at Home
Canada	56	67
Quebec	35	46
Montreal CMA	34	45
Rest of Canada	59	70
Toronto CMA	50	61

Source: Census of Canada, 1981.

proportion of children whose mothers were born outside of Canada varies little between Montreal and Toronto. On the other hand, each of the groups is more numerous in Toronto than in Montreal, a factor which ought to facilitate the persistence in Toronto of minority languages. Besides, in the latter metropolitan area, the mothers of 57 per cent of children less than 15 years of age were born abroad, compared to 23 per cent of children in the same category in Montreal (taking into account children living either in a husband and wife family or in a single-parent family headed by a woman).

In Toronto almost all linguistic transfers are made toward English. In Montreal, when a child uses in the home a language other than the maternal language of its mother, in 75 per cent of cases English is the language used; French is employed in one out of four cases. English predominates in more than 80 per cent of the transfers which attract children from German, Chinese, Greek, Italian and Ukrainian groups. Except for the Chinese group, immigration is declining in all of these groups. In particular for the two most significant groups, the Italian group and the Greek group, whose country of origin is now experiencing a positive net migration balance (Simon, 1986).

On the other hand, in the Portuguese and Spanish groups, transfers toward French occur in a little over half of the cases.

In groups with average linguistic mobility, the disparity between Montreal and Toronto is greater for those in Montreal who overwhelmingly adopt English (Italian and Greek) and weaker for those who lean rather toward French (Portuguese and Spanish). This suggests that the greater language maintenance in Montreal results from the weak appeal of French. Whenever the latter strengthens, the differences between Montreal and Toronto abate.

Compared to English Canada, Quebec has to overcome several handicaps in order to base its demographic growth on immigration. First, other provinces proportionally attract more immigrants whose mother tongue is English (45 per cent of the flow) than Quebec attracts of French mother tongue (20 to 25 per cent). Second, the 55 per cent of immigrants with a non-official language as mother tongue persist longer in speaking their heritage language in Quebec than elsewhere in the country. Third, when carrying out a linguistic transfer, in Quebec they turn more frequently towards English than towards French.

Table 7

Children Less than Fifteen Years of Age Living in a Two-parent Family in which the mother tongue of the wife is neither English, French nor a native language. Percentage of Children Whose Mother Tongue (MT) or Language Spoken in the Home (HL) is Different from the Mother Tongue of the Wife, and Trend Towards English Among Linguistic Transfers, According to the Mother Tongue of the Wife, Census Metropolitan Area of Montreal (M) and Toronto (T), 1981

(in per cent)

Mother Tongue of the Wife	Census Metropolitan Area	Linguistic Mobility (Child characteristics)		Percentage of Transfers towards English (1)	
		MT	HL	MT	HL
All	M	34	45	72	73
	T	50	61	100	100
German	M	76	85	86	87
	T	80	90	100	100
Ukrainian	M	50	71	85	88
	T	61	73	99	100
Italian	M	25	41	79	81
	T	49	63	100	100
Chinese	M	63	69	89	89
	T	62	71	100	100
Greek	M	18	27	83	88
	T	43	55	100	100
Portuguese	M	26	37	41	48
	T	33	42	99	100
Spanish	M	31	40	42	39
	T	38	49	100	99
Other	M	49	57	68	68
	T	54	64	100	99

(1) The residual percentage (out of one hundred) corresponds to the proportion of transfers towards French.

Source: Census of Canada, 1981.

Conclusion

In less than a century, the ethnic substratum of the Canadian population has been greatly transformed. Principally bi-ethnic at the close of the 19th Century, by the start of the 1960s the population had become a mosaic in which nearly all the European ethnic groups were represented. Since 1976, the majority of new arrivals have originated from Third World countries. Already multi-ethnic, Canada could, during the next century, become a multi-racial society.

Ethnic diversity, however, did not weaken the linguistic duality of the country, since languages stemming from immigration rarely survived beyond the generation that introduced them or their children's generation. The descendants of immigrants frequently learned English as their mother tongue. This situation permitted the preservation of a long-term balance between the English and French groups, with the high fertility of Francophones offsetting, until 1950, the gains made by Anglophones through immigration and linguistic transfers.

The Francophones' higher fertility gradually dwindled and then disappeared towards the mid-1960s. Later, at the national level, Francophones most frequently exhibited lower fertility than Anglophones. These developments highlighted the unsettling effects of immigration and of linguistic transfers on changes in the linguistic structure of the country, as well as on the demographic importance within Canada of Quebec.

To compensate for deficiencies in fertility, massive immigration is frequently proposed as a recourse. In Quebec, persistently strong immigration is evidently going to cause a reduction in size of the population of French origin. It is unknown, however, if this development will give rise to a significant reduction in the proportion of Francophones. To clarify the situation, we would need to better measure, as well as to explain, the factors that influence the linguistic leanings and mobility of the different groups resulting from immigration. We would also need to better understand the interrelationships between international migration, linguistic transfers and interprovincial migration. In the past, and in particular in the last quarter of a century, the adoption of English as the customary language led to an increased propensity to leave Quebec and move to the other provinces. This eventually reduced the impact of immigration on population growth yet simultaneously mitigated the unfavorable effects of linguistic transfers on the Francophone sector (Lachapelle and Henripin, 1982, 216-217). What will the future hold?

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